

CHAPTER FOUR

PETER VERSUS JUPITER

ANTIQUARIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WERE ON A MISSION. THE ambiguity toward ancient Rome in Christian tradition now became manifest in reconstructions, visualized in ingenious detail. The *Roma antica* conveyed by Lauro and his contemporaries, and later by Kircher, was in many ways less a reconstruction of ancient history than a resurrection of the Christian truths that seemed to lie within it. Lauro could hardly have been more explicit about his aim than in the preface to *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. “We have,” he says “excluded nothing that could reveal either the vanity of ancient superstition or the truth and the glory of our Christian religion.”¹ His intentions could not have been stated more clearly, but in a work on ancient architecture they seem not only out of place but even paradoxical. Yet, this Christian rewriting and re-picturing of antiquity very much informed seventeenth-century antiquarianism. The showdown between “true” and “false” religions reflects the structure of a drama, enacted in the form of classical architecture, in which archaeology unites with theology. In fact, the word “false” is a standard prefix wherever Lauro mentions the cult and worship of the ancients, included already in the frontispiece to the work.² It strikes an odd chord that archaeology around 1600 should feel the need to dethrone the ancient deities.

Yet de-masking the superstition of the ancients forms only a part of Lauro’s program. The other component – the aim to reveal the “truth and the glory of our Christian religion” – is considerably more challenging and quite

problematic, because how can that aim be demonstrated in material that is entirely archaeological? How is it possible to establish the truth of Christianity in a culture oblivious to it? To a modern mind, an attempt like this would seem like a grave interference, and it raises questions about the purpose of the past in the seventeenth century.

GOD'S ANTIQUARIANS

Ultimately, Lauro's declaration reflects a literary rhetoric known from classical texts and refined in the humanist period: the comparison between ancient and new Rome. In Renaissance literature on the city, one learns of two capitals, one based on the earthly rule of the Romans and the other on the spiritual power of Christ. Specified as an encomium, the juxtaposition of the two cities always affirmed in reality the superior Christian capital. The fifteenth-century humanist Flavio Biondo is one of the sources whom Lauro quotes throughout his work, and Biondo's two texts – the *Roma Instaurata* and the *Roma Triumphans* – exemplify one fundamental aim of an encomium: to outdo the Romans in their own language. Biondo restores antiquity – even down to the level of terminology – but with a Christian prefix, reinstating the papal capital within the framework of the imperial one. Thus, in Biondo's words the “true Emperor Christ” presides over the “imperium” of the Church. From the humanist's viewpoint this new empire is also predestined, as Charles Stinger points out: “Even before the Apostle Peter's arrival, various signs, retrospectively recognized as prophetic, pointed to the city's destined role as Christian capital.”³ Seventeenth-century antiquarianism can be seen as dramatizing these preliminary points and also outright exhibiting the inherent paradox. A foreknowledge of Christ, embedded at history's beginning, actually reverses chronology's cause and effect: It makes the worldly empire of the Romans appear to imitate the Christian one.

The celebration of the triumphant Christian city in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* belongs to this literary tradition, and the rhetoric recurs with surprising consistency. For example, in the engraving showing an allegory of triumphant Rome, Lauro includes an inscription on the pedestal of the seated “Queen of the Universe” telling us that, in spite of all its military conquests, Rome in the future will be a city where God and his vicar Christ shall reign.⁴ Whenever Lauro has the chance, then, he concludes on the same note: The Romans, deprived of true faith, shall see the Christians triumph everywhere, and with the help of “the highest and true God” the Roman Catholic Church shall establish world dominance.⁵ The book even includes a proper encomium composed in the classic tradition, rhetorically comparing the two Romes separated by faith. Simply put, the message says that whereas the Romans displayed their strength with arms and the use of iron, the Christians triumphed with peace

and the voice of God. The verse concludes, “Roma vetus lateat, dum nova Roma patet” – “Ancient Rome lies hidden as new Rome emerges.”⁶

The erudition and level of knowledge displayed in texts like this lie well outside what one would think was Lauro’s professional range. And in fact the accomplished rhetoric throughout *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, as I announced in the introduction, was not composed by Lauro at all. The texts accompanying the engraved images vary both in length and content and fall into two groups. One group consists of short expositions of a strictly antiquarian nature; these unvaryingly attach to re-engravings after the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* and works by Ligorio and Panvinio and probably stem from an early stage of the project, most likely written by Lauro himself. The other group, by contrast, contains lengthy accounts teeming with literary references, which include religious writings and attempts at theological discourses, somewhat abbreviated by the restricted space of the text fields. Lauro was no more a literary historian and theologian than he was an archaeologist, so the question is who composed the second group of texts.

Four of the architectural images in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* have text fields signed “AB,” and the title pages hold a name that matches these initials.⁷ In fact, the maker of the verse quoted earlier reads “Doctor Andreas Baianus Lusitanus F,” and the same man has signed the poignant poems celebrating the Farnese family on the third title page.⁸ The Portuguese Andreas Baianus, or André Bayam (d. 1639), was a teacher of grammar, rhetoric, and Christian doctrine; he was also the author of a very limited number of publications belonging to a specialized genre of so-called panegyrics, texts that took as their subject a worthy figure and celebrated his deeds and virtues. The panegyrics of Bayam have a Christian, specifically a Counter-Reformation, meaning; indeed, he calls himself “Sacerdoto Theologo” in his telling work, *Panegyricus Sine Verbis De S. Philippi Nerii Laudibus Dictus*, published in 1629 – an encomium on the founder of the Oratorian order, Filippo Neri.

An early publication by Bayam, a panegyric text titled *Memoriae Rerum Gestarum*, was published in Rome in 1617 and dedicated to Thomas Zamoysky, prefect of Knissin, who was the son of Johann Zamoysky, the grand chancellor of Poland and a general in the Polish Army.⁹ The sixty-page text is a celebration of the achievements of the chancellor composed on the basis of extensive references to ancient authors, including Pliny the Younger, Seneca, Tacitus, Virgil, Cicero, and Plato. Lauro also knew the Zamoysky family well. Thomas Zamoysky was the one who left his engraved and hand-painted visiting card in Lauro’s “Album Amicorum” accompanied by a verse – an encomium – signed by Lauro himself.¹⁰ In fact, both Thomas and his father, the chancellor, corresponded with Lauro between 1604 and 1612 on different commissions. Two letters in the “Album” concern a case in which the chancellor had commissioned Lauro to make an engraving of a triumphal arch,¹¹ and we

know, too, that Lauro submitted at least three designs of fortresses and seven images of Polish military campaigns commanded by Zamoysky.¹² Lauro wished to include all these designs, including the triumphal arch, as engravings in a planned *Res Gestae* to the grand chancellor.¹³ Sadly, the *Res Gestae* never materialized in the illustrated form Lauro perhaps had in mind, possibly due to the chancellor's death in 1605. It did appear, however, in the somewhat amputated form of Bayam's publication of 1617 – and Lauro's contribution to it is a discovery: Already on the title page we find the Roman printmaker's name, and Lauro is probably responsible for the book's finely engraved frontispiece, which represents an arch adorned with allegorical figures, and for a portrait of Johann Zamoysky, in what remain the only illustrations to the text (Fig. 67). It would not come as a surprise if we were looking at the arch once commissioned by Zamoysky and discussed in the correspondence with Lauro. Indeed, in the dedication to his publication on Filippo Neri, mentioned earlier, Bayam confirms that Lauro had engraved – “in aere inciderat” – a triumphal arch for Zamoysky: “From among many men who fought to celebrate you in words and images,” Bayam tells the chancellor, “Giacomo Lauro emerged, a man who holds you very dear, and who has done you the great service of engraving an outstanding triumphal arch for your *Res Gestae*.”¹⁴

This digression into Bayam's *Memoriae Rerum Gestarum* is significant above all because Lauro wrote the preface. In an address to Thomas Zamoysky, unnoticed by both Ashby and Del Pesco, the engraver looks back at the time he produced *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* and asserts his reliance on Bayam's superior knowledge:

I dedicate [the book] with enlightened panegyric comments to our images, written by a Portuguese priest, a man of no vulgar learning, and no stranger to theology and politics; his prose and verse I use for the most part in our *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*.¹⁵

Here Lauro as good as proves the joint effort that *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* in reality was, even calling the work “ours,” although he leaves no doubt that he controlled the enterprise, emphasizing that he “had used” Bayam's expertise for a “part” of the work. Reconsidering Bayam's signed prints, then, it is highly unlikely that he only contributed four prints to the publication. It was Bayam who knew how to maneuver around in the gargantuan bulk of literature, relieving Lauro of a task that would have daunted an engraver. Although the Portuguese “doctor” was the scholar of the two – plowing the sources and composing the texts – he hardly decided on the selection of monuments. In fact, nothing suggests that Bayam entered the project before contact was made with the Zamoyskys around 1604. At some point therefore Lauro employed the rent-out theologian to help him complete the project and to infuse the work with the right “tone” that would usher it through the



67. Giacomo Lauro, engraved frontispiece to André Bayam's *Memoriae Rerum Gestarum* (Rome, 1617). Stamp. Barb. R. VIII, fol. 2r © 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

censoring papal office and result in profitable privileges, perhaps even luring support and future commissions from high-powered cardinals. For Bayam's texts share one prevailing characteristic: the Christian message: By insisting on the authority of medieval legends and modern Church history or simply

by passing moral judgments on the ancients, Bayam helped infuse the history of the monuments with a Christian rhetoric.¹⁶ His texts do the opposite of “grounding” the images in antiquarian research because they explain Lauro’s visions as a kind of appropriation of the imperial Rome by the Rome of the Apostles. Gravely undermining the antiquarian basis in Lauro’s enterprise, the Portuguese “doctor” prepares for a type of reconstruction that was specifically Christian.

In fact, the message permeating Lauro’s three *libri* is not only Christian but also specifically Roman Catholic. Catholic doctrine, strengthened in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, rejected the humanist idealization of classical Rome and tightened control on every kind of output, encouraging a Christian content even from antiquarians. The imperial city conquered by Christ’s vicar served as a metaphor of the Catholic triumph over heretics and idolaters everywhere and at all times, past and present, with its message targeted in particular at the Lutherans north of the Alps – and to the Muslims: Franzini’s illustrated guidebook, composed under Sixtus V, includes a poem that not only commends the pope for his past good deeds but also hopes for future ones, in particular the utter extinction of Turks and Lutherans.¹⁷ The Ottoman rule and the Protestant reformation were events that around 1600 still posed threats to the spiritual (and earthly) hegemony that the Roman Catholics were trying to reestablish. Archaeology’s particular quest, with antiquarians as papal envoys, led on to a territory not yet converted: the classical past. Accounts of the ancient *Urbs* helped extend the papal dominion to encompass a place even more elusive than those envisioned by Kircher in *China Illustrata* and *Mundus Subterraneus* – that is, antiquity itself. For Lauro and Kircher the dialogue with the past irresolutely veered between combating and beguiling, with the ancients standing in for nonbelievers, in a world where the print antiquarian’s mission was less to reconstruct than to consecrate ancient architecture.

The name of Bayam is virtually unknown in scholarship and shows the extent to which Counter-Reformation doctrine worked its way into all branches of knowledge, including antiquarianism. But the rhetoric of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* must be seen also against the background of the strident propaganda under Pope Sixtus V, who reigned from 1585 to 1590, when Lauro started work on his engravings and when Rome’s own classical monuments became scapegoats for a somewhat reduced papal might. It is sufficient to be reminded of how the Peretti pope with a few effective moves transformed the fabric of Rome, or rather re-accentuated it, because Sixtus was far shrewder than to simply demolish antiquities. Instead of erasing imperial Rome, he realized the effect of freezing what was left of it in an image of perpetual defeat. For example, he crowned the two spiral columns, dedicated to the emperors Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, with sculptures of Peter and Paul, and the ancient obelisks he repositioned like needles pinning down a grand Christian urban

scheme, connecting the seven basilicas. In short, under Sixtus, the monuments were drained of their pagan content and, remaining as shallow forms, refilled with a message of a triumphant Christianity. Classical monuments, in their continued existence, turned into symbols.

Lauro (and Bayam)¹⁸ explicitly hail Sixtus's efforts and also share his aim to Christianize ancient Rome, but by an approach that must be called conversion in disguise.¹⁹ Unlike Sixtus, who rededicated existing monuments, Lauro took up his position in the past in order to make the entire city seem "Christian" already from its beginnings. A chronology turned around in his manner would hardly surprise anyone at the time, because the particular *foresight* that the historian thus displayed also governed history itself. Searching for evidence of a past that might point to the future simply showed the historian diligently at work. In this, Lauro and perhaps in particular Bayam were very much attuned with the contemporary theory of history.

Lauro's visual discourse on the matter is interesting, and the conclusions we may draw from the examples that follow add a new chapter to the study of Baroque architectural theory. But it is also a discourse that depends on the influence of one man in particular. Cesare Baronio (already briefly mentioned) was made a cardinal in 1596 and wrote the most impressive demonstration of history writing in Lauro's days with the immensely erudite twelve-volume book, the *Annales Ecclesiastici*. The first volume appeared in 1588 and the last in 1607, after the author's death.²⁰ Baronio's single aim, modeled on the church father Eusebius's early fourth-century *History of the Church*, was to establish a secure basis for a triumphant apostolic church by tracing its history from its origin to the year 1198. The first three volumes of the *Annales* show a particular interest in ancient Rome, but only so far as it could be seen to forewarn the historical rise of the Christian church, for as Philip Jacks says, "the belief in a providential hand guiding the course of history pervades the *Annales* from the opening pages."²¹ Providence is the key word; it is the divine foresight "by whose laws the whole scheme of things is governed," as Augustine wrote in *City of God* (5.11). It is the force that secures the steady progression toward all things' climax, the Coming of Christ, and that enables Baronio to establish a triumphant Catholic Church paradoxically within the culture that precedes it. Testimonies of signs and divine intervention, assembled by the author, create a picture of an antiquity that existed entirely at the mercy of God, who was far from the impassionate observer, but kept civilization on the edge of its seat and from time to time spectacularly reminded Roman society of its predestined course toward oblivion. It is by God's will that buildings stand, says Baronio, like the two spiral columns – or indeed collapse, in the way the Pantheon did as punishment for the Romans' persecution of the Christians.²²

The set-up in the *Annales*, from the implementation of the providential scheme to the various stories, is taken up in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Lauro's

book revels in Christian legends, quoted either from Baronio or from sources that Baronio himself relied on, such as Augustine and Eusebius. The texts frequently tell of stories such as an anguished Titus praying to God for forgiveness or Constantine's vision of the cross before the battle at Ponte Milvio.²³ But it would rest on Lauro, as the first truly Baroque antiquarian, to ensure that providence also works in architectural history. In the preface to *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* he says he has pondered for a long time the question how the Romans, "deprived of the light of the true faith," could leave such a formidable heritage, including buildings:

I have long been thinking about how our ancient Romans, deprived of the light of the true faith, and graced only with an outer appearance of virtue, nevertheless could enlarge the empire and leave such a glorious legacy of literature, weapons, architecture which their descendants partly can acquire and partly preserve.²⁴

His brief comment is too fragmentary to offer a theory of architectural history, yet Lauro clearly looks on the idea of development in Aristotelian terms, as a potential gradually to be realized. What he seems to say is that the Roman legacy, including architecture, came into existence for the purpose that the descendants should "acquire" and "preserve it." The fulfillment of ancient architecture, then, did not lie in antiquity itself, but with the Christian era that succeeded it. What the Romans sketched were shallow forms, corresponding to an "outer appearance of virtue," that a Christian culture, guided by true faith, first truly could possess. It is an ingenious thought, and between the lines, one glimpses Lauro's reliance on a supra-historical power – even providence – leaving the Romans merely sleepwalking through an architectural history that God in reality governs from beginning to end.

But providence works all very well in theory. The question is whether signs of the true faith can be detected in Lauro's architectural prints. In other words, where Biondo, Baronio, and Bayam merely speculate on the power of foresight, Lauro would have to demonstrate it.

THE THEOLOGY OF RUINS

Nowhere does the clash between the "false" and "true" religion become more pronounced than in the reconstruction of antique temples. Blessed with divine "foresight" Baroque antiquarians present a "history of the church," like Baronio, but one that unfolds in the guise of reconstructed monuments piously manipulated.

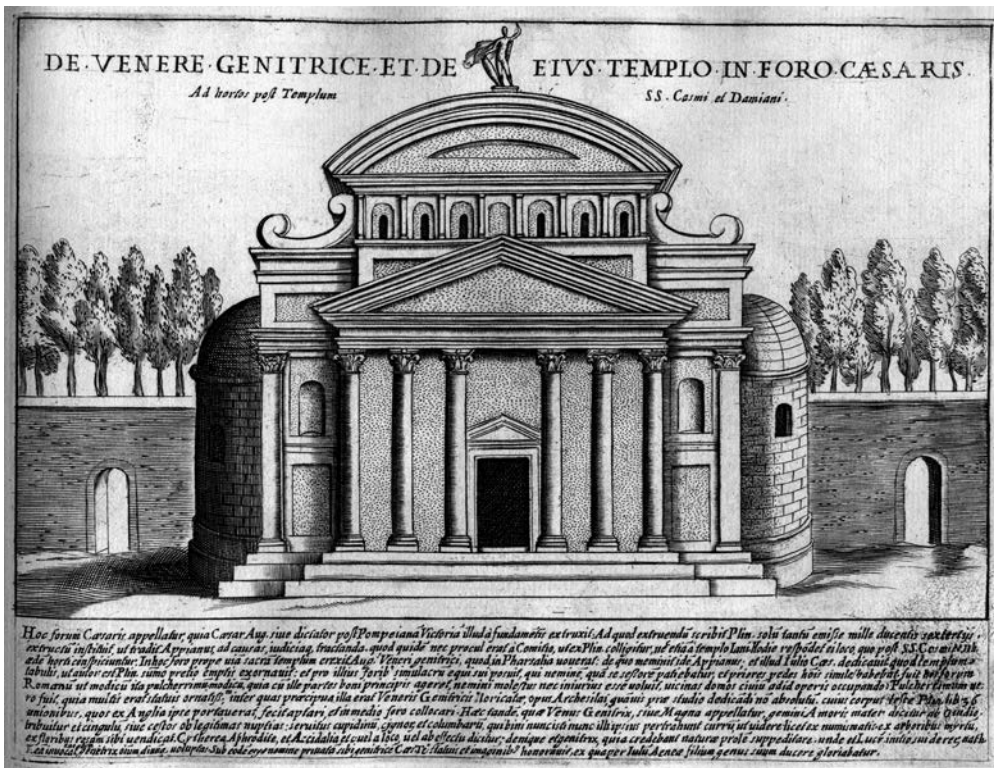
Stubborn disagreement over where the Roman temples actually had stood reflects a mode of thinking grounded in premonitions. Locating ancient structures was frequently a matter of controversy among writers on antiquity. They

constantly revised each other's conclusions, recombining evidence from ancient texts, inscriptions, and remains. Lauro's strategy in identifying buildings is consistent, but the fact that one may point to a strategy at all is of course highly unusual in a field where each case is as unpredictable as it is unique. *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* usually demonstrates a slavish acceptance of Ligorio, but occasionally it downright contradicts him, and underlying each of these rejections is Lauro's desire to locate temples on sites on which there was later a church. The effort is comparable to Sixtus's repositioning of the antique obelisks, but in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* it is carried out in actual antiquity. A revealing example is the circular temple situated by the Tiber and, according to Ligorio, wrongly identified as the Temple of Hercules:

But what grossness has it not been of those to say that the circular temple, which stands on the shore of the Tiber . . . would have been the temple of Hercules? As if they made temples of the Corinthian order to Hercules? As if one would make goddesses out of the gods – soft and effeminate? Vitruvius, too, shows that for Hercules one made the Doric order, and not the Corinthian.²⁵

It would demand a bit of courage of course to oppose Ligorio's almost scornful insistence, but that is precisely what Lauro does: He adorns the temple with Corinthian columns and attributes it to Hercules; more importantly, he places it on the site of the later church of S. Stefano. A similar act of religiously motivated relocation occurs with the Temple of Juno Lucina, which Lauro identifies with the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, in contrast to Ligorio's announcement that this misconception is based on sheer imagination.²⁶ The mission extends even to nonreligious structures like the Amphitheater of Taurus Statilius, transposed by Lauro to the area of the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, in spite of the fact that Ligorio a half-century earlier precisely pointed out that this error is common among modern authors.²⁷

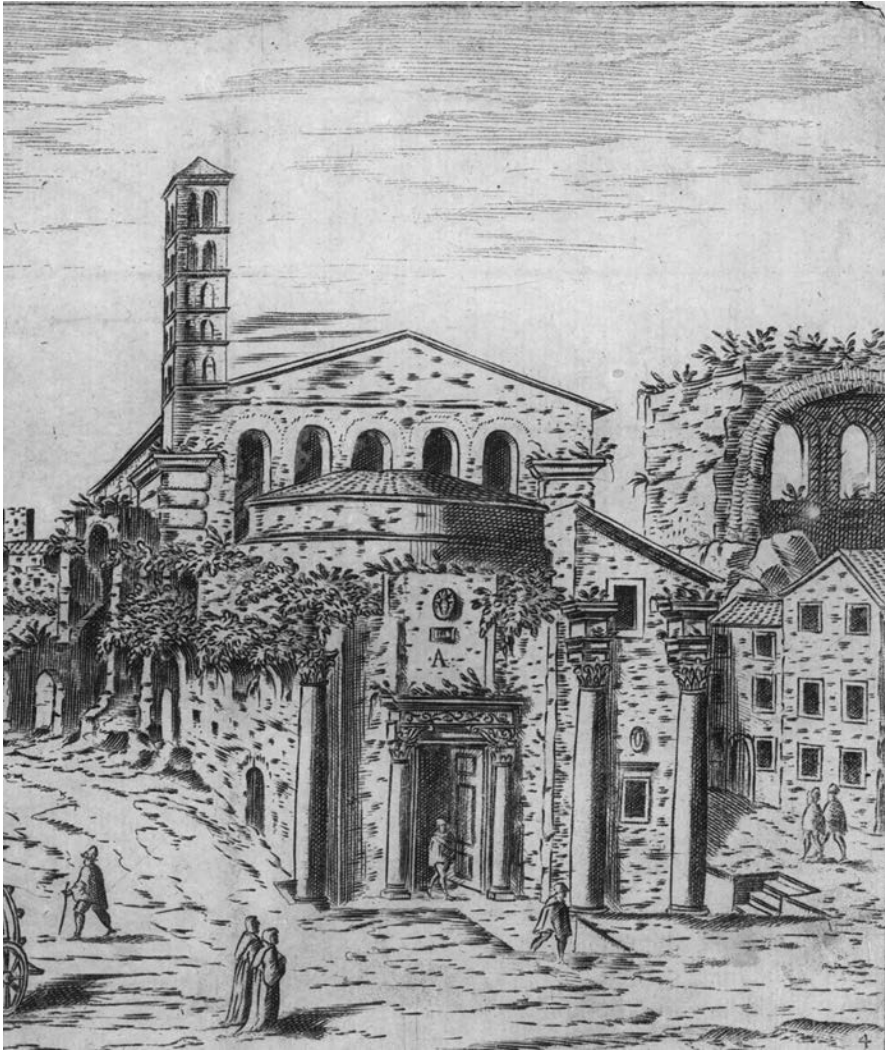
Ligorio was unbiased with respect to the church-temple discourse, but the vehement tone in his *Libro* of 1553 derives from his disagreement with Marliano's much earlier *Antiquae Romae Topographia*, and the entries formed a systematic refutation of his colleague's arguments.²⁸ Thus, Lauro unwittingly ends up taking sides in a bitter polemic that had raged a few decades earlier. Finding support for his Christian program in Marliano, which the latter never had adhered to, meant a regression in antiquarian knowledge. It was a heavy price to pay and perhaps one that the engraver conceded to a bit unwillingly. In fact, the references to Marliano, as well as to others with a mind to religious matters, such as Biondo, Fauno, Albertino, and Lipsius, accord remarkably well with Bayam's entry into the project. Not only did Bayam have an extended knowledge of these texts but his signature also appears on prints that tend to contradict Ligorio. In any event, the new religious aim



68. Giacomo Lauro, Temple of Venus Genetrix, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 62.

instigates a radical reorientation in the work while Lauro was still in the process of engraving the material. In fact, the *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* represents a dramatic reconfiguration of the entire archaeological site plan of antique Rome based on the objective to consecrate or, more correctly, *pre*-consecrate pagan sites. Adding ancient origins to churches that strictly speaking had none only made the grandly predestined Christian conversion of the past seem even more complete. In contrast to Sixtus, Lauro Christianizes the remains beforehand, manifesting the triumph of the Catholic Church in an epoch that was unaware of it.

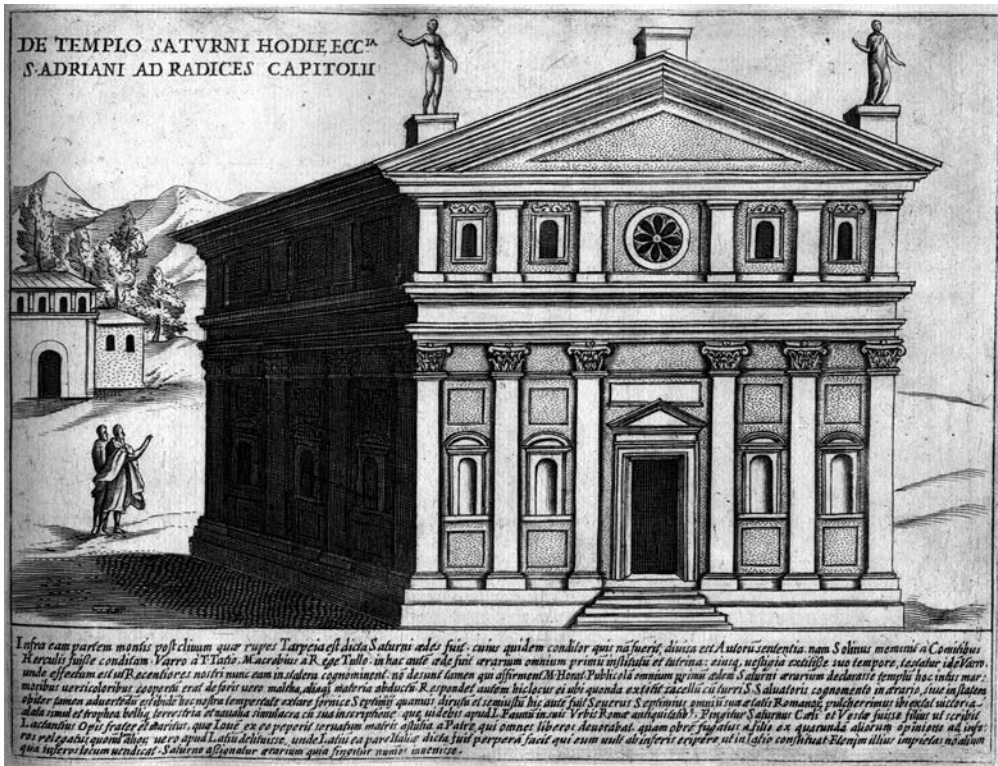
What makes Lauro seem to step out of the wordy Bayam's shadow, and also what rescues his images from a category of fantasies, is his formulation of architecture as prophecies. Select temple reconstructions appropriate not only church sites but also church appearances, and two temples on the Forum Romanum are good examples. Locating the Temple of Venus Genetrix, Lauro (again) ignores Ligorio's opinion and insists (symptomatically) on placing the temple on the site of the future Basilica of SS. Cosma and Damiano (Fig. 68).²⁹ This drastic departure from established facts left the inventive engraver with no choice but to demonstrate the pre-conversion in visual terms and in situ. The



69. Basilica of SS. Cosma and Damiano, Rome. Engraving by Étienne Dupérac, 1575, detail. British School at Rome Library, Thomas Ashby Print Collection, tapri-L611.D9.003.

temple had previously been reconstructed by both Labacco and Ligorio with a traditional columnar porch, but Lauro projects onto the antique façade features that came in place only with the later basilica (Fig. 69).³⁰ For example, the row of arched openings on the upper story is a carefully articulated quotation from the ecclesiastical building and forms a tiny part of Lauro's grand salvation of pagan Rome. Instead of being a caprice, then, the ancient temple is reinvented as an existing church.

Following the indications of Marliano and Fauno, Lauro locates the Temple of Saturn in the remains today recognized as the curia, but which in Lauro's time housed the church of S. Adriano (Fig. 70).³¹ In contrast to the peristyles



70. Giacomo Lauro, Temple of Saturn, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 50.

of classical temples, this façade was made of plain brickwork from top to bottom – an architectural skeleton conveniently corresponding to the austere fronts favored by Sixtus V (Fig. 71). A close model for Lauro’s reconstruction is the church of S. Girolamo dei Schiavoni, built between 1588 and 1590. The façade on his church had originally been designed for the Chiesa Nuova – not far from S. Adriano – for which Lauro once was commissioned to execute the engraving, as we saw in Chapter 1 (see Fig. 6).³² Thus, the “historical” evidence for the ancient temple’s appearance goes no farther back than to the early days of Lauro’s career; from his own repertory the engraver retrieved a design for a nearby shrine and “stuck” it onto the stripped brick wall of the curia / Temple of Saturn.

The intervention in archaeology to make temple fronts foresee – prefigure – a Christian architectural history was Lauro’s solution to an obvious problem: Given God’s annihilation of pagan Rome, Roman Catholic diehards could surely protest against projects that so extravagantly attempt to resurrect it. Did not such projects defy the divine will and the course of providence? A way out of this dilemma was for the engraver Lauro to implant forewarnings of the Christian triumph in his architectural designs, to continue to exalt ancient



71. View of the church of S. Adriano. Engraving by Étienne Dupérac, 1575, detail. British School at Rome Library, Thomas Ashby Print Collection, tapri-L611.D9.004.

Roman models, and yet, as if in a shadow maneuver, to intervene to make those models Christian. Thus in one sense Lauro's mission was more to retrieve architecture from its origin in false religion than to actually reconstruct it. No doubt prompted by the rewriting of history by Baronio, Bayam, and others, engravers around 1600 worked on two levels: Taking up an imagined stand-point in the remote past, they turned Roman monuments into converted – or rather pre-converted – Christian shrines. Papal Rome was backdated as foreseen. This extraordinary, and in scholarship largely overlooked, proto-Christian antiquity was nothing excavation could confirm of course, but it could be envisioned, leaving the likes of Franzini, Lauro, and Fei – the print-makers of providence – with the delicate task of procuring “proof.”

S. PETER'S ON THE CAPITOL

The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the most magnificent temple in Roman antiquity, standing on the summit of the Capitol Hill, the focal point of Roman civilization. Ancient authors such as Livy, Virgil, Seneca, and Ovid hailed the temple's architectural features, among them the roof clad in gold, as well as the temple as a symbol of Rome's supreme power and eternal reign.³³ Although rebuilt several times in antiquity, it remained the absolute center of religious life and rituals. By 1600, however, the temple had long been extinct. The knowledge of its importance was all that remained, which, for the display of Roman Catholic authority, turned out to be quite convenient.

In preceding decades, the reconstructions of the Temple of Jupiter had grown increasingly sophisticated and, one needs to add, correct. They were what one may call "archaeological" in the sense that they were based largely on coins and ancient texts. As early as 1555, Guillaume du Choul illustrated the Temple of Jupiter from the evidence of coins, complete with columns, pediment, and statues.³⁴ In a similar solution, Ligorio, in his reconstructive map from 1561, translated ancient sources into a convincing columnar temple, and throughout the 1570s the "archaeological" form recurs with increasing precision.³⁵ Thus, the reconstructions of both Panvinio and Dupérac reduce Ligorio's ten columns to the correct hexastyle temple front.³⁶ Then something happens. Lauro's reconstruction, entitled *Templum Iovis Capitolini*, displays a magnificent frontal elevation, but it discards the classical temple type and presents instead an unusually worked-out façade in two stories, crowned by a drum and a dome (Fig. 72).³⁷ The question is: What was the model?

No antiquarian precedent for this structure exists. On the contrary, the seemingly capricious appearance becomes meaningful only as one looks to the Vatican and to the most important building project in the years after 1600 – the new S. Peter's.

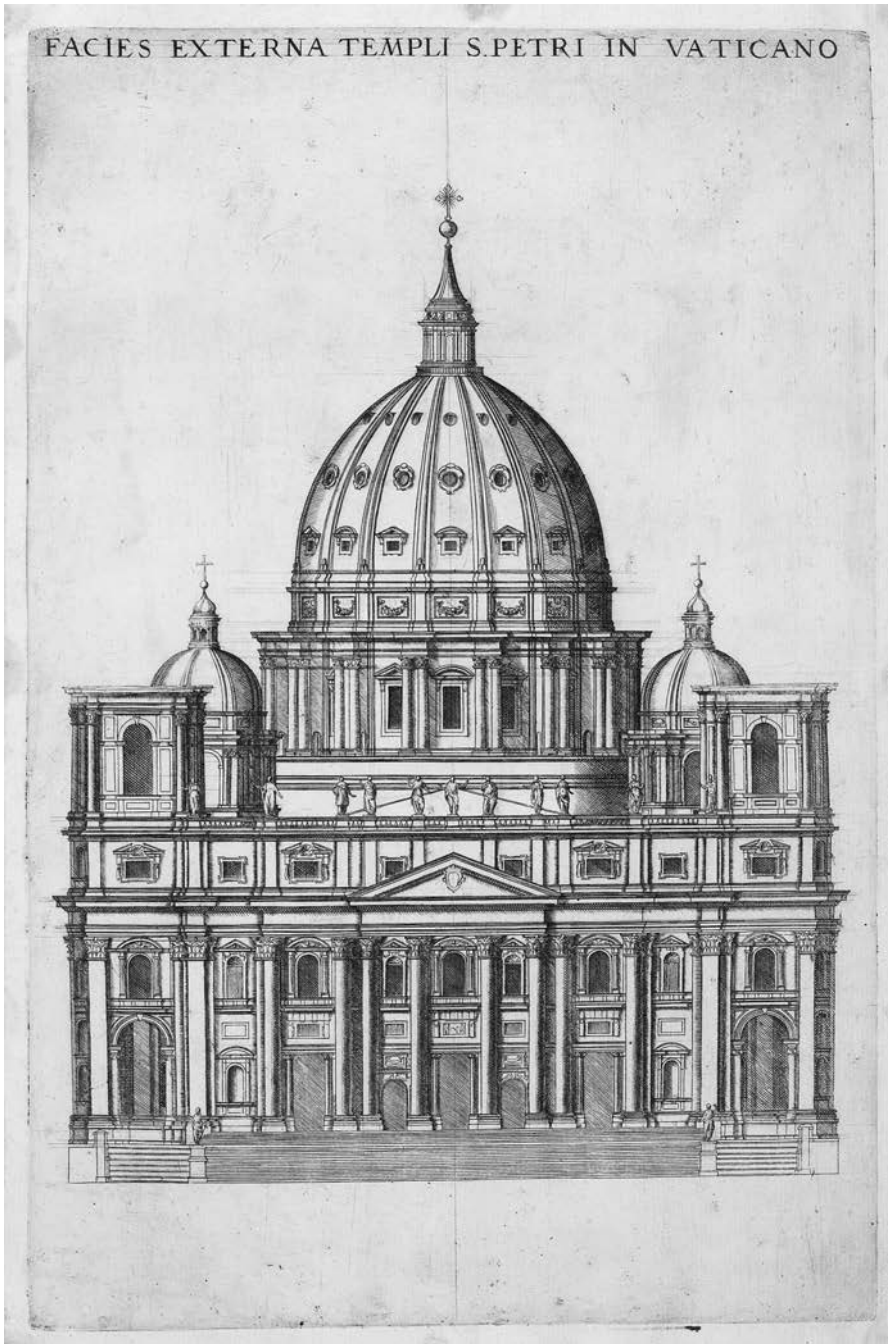
The most illustrious building in Rome, not to say Christendom, was a powerful model, but a model that remained interminably unfinished. After the foundation stone was laid in 1505, based on Bramante's design, an excruciatingly long history of construction began, and the project passed through the hands of every major architect of the period – Raphael, Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and Michelangelo – until Carlo Maderno finally accomplished the task after more than a century. As if to counteract its slow progress were all the proposals for the church's completed form, constantly revised and duly recorded in medals, wooden models, and prints. In these impatient propositions, the new basilica transcended its half-built state and its own period of time to become an architectural universal. Treatises on architecture and volumes of reconstructions included the new S. Peter's either as a memento of projects that never had been built or as a premonition of buildings



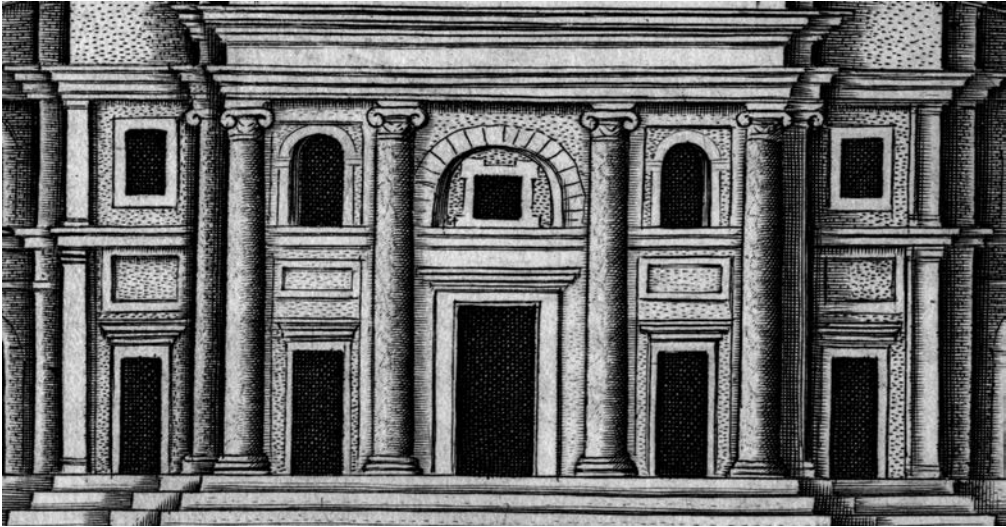
72. Giacomo Lauro, Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 70.

that still lay ahead. As construction dragged on, the many unrealized proposals, forming a radiant series on their own, held up an image of completeness – of timelessness even – in contemporary architecture. The future monument, therefore, could reappear in surveys of buildings long vanished, in the way Serlio, in the book on antiquities, included Bramante's project for the basilica as "it could have been." By contrast, a sixteenth-century manuscript of reconstructed monuments began with an image of Michelangelo's S. Peter's as it "anderá finite" – as it will be completed.³⁸ Indeed, the basilica as a mere prospect stood as a model, appropriately perhaps, for antiques of which no traces remained. For example, Raphael's project for S. Peter's was still on the agenda when the French Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, in his series of reconstructions titled *Temples antiques*, expedited the solution back through the centuries and named it an ancient temple.³⁹

In 1607, Carlo Maderno, as chief architect to S. Peter's, submitted his first design for a new façade; it was slightly revised a year later and then went through some more minor changes.⁴⁰ By 1611, its seven giant columns reached halfway up, and the façade was completed in July 1612 – the same year that Lauro completed Book I of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Fig. 73).⁴¹ Incongruous



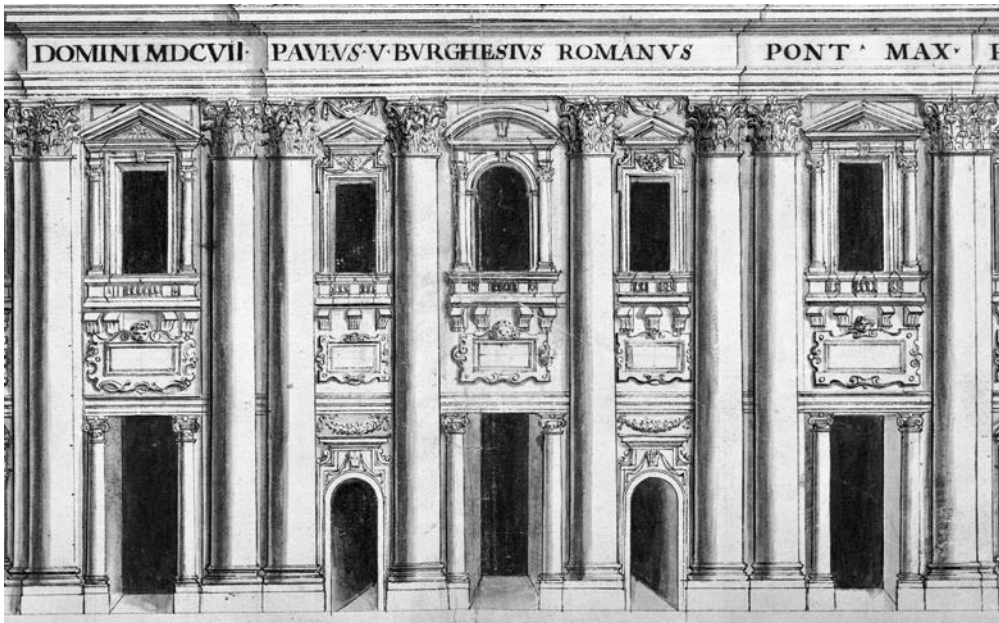
73. Carlo Maderno, Basilica of S. Peter's, 1607–12. Etching ca. 1650. Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, FCR71617. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.



74. Giacomo Lauro, Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, detail. British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 70.

as the comparison may seem, the fact is that the match between Maderno's design and Lauro's engraving in Book I is so exact that S. Peter's offers dating evidence for the reconstruction. Lauro repeats the part of Maderno's recently unveiled front that includes a central portico surmounted by a triangular pediment, and within that scheme he also reapplies the architect's four massively scaled engaged columns, the recessed pilasters, and even details such as the distribution and articulation of the openings (Figs. 74 & 75). Importantly, Lauro reflects Maderno on the level of style also. The architect of St. Peter's had revolutionized the traditional church façade in a way that architectural history has judged as "prophetic of the coming Baroque" and as embodying "the new principles of the Baroque".⁴² The compositional idea (which Maderno first had applied in S. Susanna in Rome) consisted of breaking up the façade in planes that seemed to step toward the middle, and in the same move elements gradually gained solidity, from pilasters at the ends to columns in the center. Lauro, in a clear imitation, copies the triad of overlapping planes and the idea of an increasing plasticity of elements. So, in terms of influence, Christian Huelsen is correct in declaring that Lauro's Jupiter temple must have been conceived in the period after Maderno designed and constructed S. Peter's.⁴³ But the dating is too coarse. For a nuanced chronology is precisely the key to unlocking both the solution in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* and, in broader terms, the significance of reconstructing.

The resemblance between the two designs is far from total, arguably because in 1609, by which time Lauro had executed most of his engravings, the basilica was not yet complete. Therefore Lauro does not include the cluster of pilasters



75. Anonymous, façade of S. Peter's, 1607/08, detail. Drawing after an engraving of Maderno's first project published by Henricus van Schoot. E 321/1937 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From the collection of Francis St. John.

erected at the corners of the basilica in 1610–11. Nor does he incorporate any reference to the bell towers, ordered by Pope Paul V Borghese in September 1612.⁴⁴ The latest alteration to S. Peter's, which Lauro may have been in time to record, was the addition of two bays, shown in a drawing (after a lost engraving) dated 1607 or 1608 (Fig. 76). The wings flanking Lauro's main corpus may be last-minute references to such an extension, although elaborated of course, because he at that point had no knowledge of how the extensions would turn out. Comparing the two contemporaneous designs, Lauro's temple seems to reflect S. Peter's not in its final form, but as it was envisioned around 1608. Caught by the excitement of the impending unveiling, Lauro invented a "Baroque" antiquity in parallel to Maderno's revolution in Roman architecture.

Lauro was not the first to mold the Jupiter temple in the cast of the Vatican church. In fact, he joins a particular architectural history of Counter-Reformation Capitoline S. Peter's that blatantly ignores the dictates of archaeology. In 1588, Sixtus V authorized work to begin on the dome of the basilica, which had remained a gaping void for decades. In only two years the biggest cupola in Christendom soared, a construction named among the "miracoli del mondo."⁴⁵ However in the same year that work began on the dome, Franzini published three illustrated guidebooks, as we have seen, and in two of them he included a woodcut of the reconstructed Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.⁴⁶



76. Anonymous, façade of S. Peter's, 1607/08. Drawing after an engraving of Maderno's first project published by Henricus van Schoot. E 321/1937 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From the collection of Francis St. John.

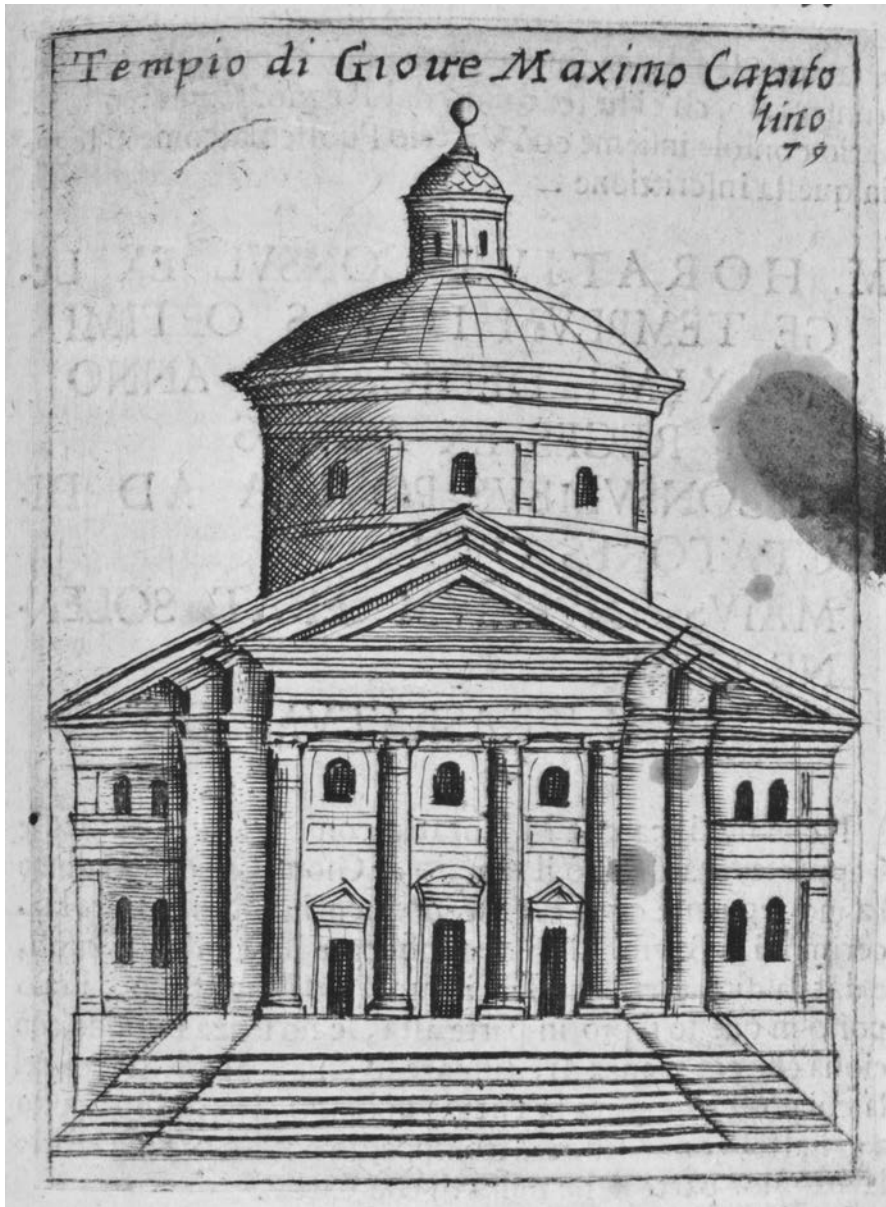
A striking feature stands out, namely the imposing hemispherical dome – a revolutionary addition to the history of Jupiter temples (Fig. 77). The carefully devised anachronism was a small price to pay for the papal privilege bestowed on the publisher. Franzini anticipated the conclusion of an ongoing and highly prestigious project and even imitated concrete proposals for a dome for S. Peter's by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who likewise had envisioned a drum rising in double tiers with alternating arches and pilasters. Overall, Franzini intervenes at a significant juncture in the completion of S. Peter's, and for a brief moment an ideal appearance combines the past temple with the future church. Franzini's bit of clairvoyance rearranges the true chronology and effectively puts his temple first in line – indeed, as a prophecy.

Seen against this background, a clear development runs from Franzini to Lauro in which the Jupiter temple connects to, and indeed prefigures, the basilica about to be built. By the time Lauro issued *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, the dome, of course, was old news. Merely sketching the temple's appearance, Lauro instead lavishes his attention on the front that at that time, as we have seen, was under construction. In continuation of this counter-archaeological



77. Girolamo Franzini, Temple of Jupiter. Woodcut from Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae Topographia* (Rome, 1588). Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

history, it is perhaps only to be expected that a third – and last – Vatican variant of the Jupiter temple appeared only months after Pope Urban VIII consecrated S. Peter's in November 1626. As if he allowed the momentous event to be mirrored in ancient Rome, Andrea Fei issued his guidebook reconstruction just a year later.⁴⁷ Although the image is crude and schematic, it outlines the essentials of the fully formed basilica (Fig. 78). Significantly, it offers a clear view of the dome and tightens the portico front; thus it not only balances Franzini and Lauro's uneven emphasis but also corrects a flaw in Maderno's solution that critics early pointed out, namely that the extended nave hid



78. Pompilio Totti, Temple of Jupiter. Illustration from *Ritratto di Roma antica* published by Andrea Fei (Rome, 1627), p. 233. British School at Rome Library, 600.181B.

the dome from actual view. Fei's illustration then is doubly ideal. It shows an ancient temple in the guise of S. Peter's, and it shows S. Peter's in an imaginary perfection. In fact, this ideal elevation was the favorite viewpoint of the church from Matteo Greuter onward, whose engraving from 1613 influenced a series of illustrations, including Fei's temple and Lauro's own print of S. Peter's (see Figs. 30–32).⁴⁸

The consecration of the ancient Capitol rested on an architectural “baptism” of the ancient temple as a S. Peter’s-to-be. The years 1588, 1612, and 1626 were key moments in the completion of S. Peter’s, and it is hardly a coincidence that “updates” of the Jupiter temple were conceived more or less on the same dates, and further, that each print referred to contemporary aspects of the basilica. In contrast to the “archaeological” reconstructions of Ligorio, Panvinio, and Dupérac, Lauro’s version formed part of a short-lived sequence of “Catholic” reconstructions, under the influence of a religious upsurge, that accurately reflected the successive stages of the single most important project in Catholic Christendom.

PETER VERSUS JUPITER

The parallel with the new S. Peter’s reveals a deeper intention. The counter-chronology so obviously at work makes Maderno’s façade appear as predestined. The deliberate replacement of a classic columnar temple with a Baroque fabrication illustrates the ultimate triumph of Roman Catholicism over infidels and heretics, ancient and modern, through the symbolic act of architectural subjection.

The idea of recasting the Jupiter temple as S. Peter’s had significant references in a literature that since the early humanists had linked the two sites together in a state of perpetual rivalry. Two passages in particular in Lauro’s Capitol texts (no doubt prompted by Bayam) cleverly contribute to the rhetoric. The first passage repeats an old polemic that peaked under Sixtus V, that stern defender of Catholic doctrine, advocating the temple as the emblematic locus of “false” religion, which made the christening of the Capitol paramount. Thus, it is “con particular sua Providenza,” Lauro says, that God chose the Capitol to be the site on which to herald the forthcoming triumph of Christian Rome.⁴⁹ He then goes on to cite a well-known legend from Roman times telling of an incident during the building of the Temple of Jupiter: When attempting to clear the foundation for the building, the Romans found themselves unable to remove the so-called *Fanum Terminus*, a structure reminiscent of an archaic Roman deity. For Roman authors like Livy the legend therefore came to signify the permanence of the cult and, above all, of Rome itself.⁵⁰ But Lauro slyly twists the meaning of the word “terminus” and makes the legend signify the “end” of the Roman Empire as such. The resistant structure’s Baroque re-entry is as a sign of “God’s particular foresight,” and Lauro concludes that in this way God intervened to pronounce that one day the “spiritual empire of Rome” would emerge eternal.

Lauro’s brief text resounds with the Christian rhetoric of triumph, evident in his careful choice of words: The “spiritual empire” both refers to and supersedes an empire of mere arms and swords, and God, strikingly identified

as “Optimus Maximus,” appears not only with the name that the Romans reserved for Jupiter but also with the name of the particular deity that was venerated in the Capitol temple. In general, the figures of God, Christ, and Jupiter appear to be engaged in a metaphorical “battle” for the most significant site in Rome – evident already on the still existing entrance plaque to the Palazzo dei Conservatori, dated 1568, which welcomes the visitor to “The Capitol hill, once commanded by Jupiter, now by Christ.” Although these ideas evolve from Renaissance literary topoi, in Lauro’s Baroque reworking the metaphor becomes more politically pronounced: The idea of the expelled Jupiter is counterbalanced by the instatement of the “principality” of the Apostle, as if it were a mere succession of governments.⁵¹

Into this battle, architecture was thrown. The Jupiter temple – not only Jupiter himself – figured in a rhetoric aimed to confirm the triumph of the “true faith.” The religious significance and material splendor to which St. Peter’s aspired had in Rome only one rival – the eminence once enjoyed by the temple on the Capitol. In the city’s rhetoric as eternal, the two temples were engaged in a moral and architectural combat for the position of prominence. The propaganda accompanying the building of S. Peter’s, right up to its completion, established its supremacy almost always on the condition of its subordinating the Jupiter temple. Maffeo Vegio in the fifteenth century extols the primacy of the basilica, but only after reminding his readers that God had struck the Jupiter temple down with lightning.⁵² Likewise, Giannozzo Manetti, the court biographer to Nicholas V, believed that the pope’s plan for a rebuilt S. Peter’s would outshine all famous buildings in history, including the Capitol with its temple.⁵³ Baronio, too, perceives a rivalry between the hills when he writes in the *Annales* that the Vatican had been transformed into the Capitol and even surpassed it.⁵⁴ The rivaling pair of buildings is interlocked in a moral-architectural showdown that Lauro around 1600 cannot avoid addressing. In the text accompanying the reconstructed Capitol Hill he mentions S. Peter’s and obligingly adds “to which the Temple of Jupiter had to surrender its fame.”⁵⁵ The complicated mission Lauro gave himself then was not to resurrect the temple, but, within its very own framework, to outdo it. He ushered the ancient precinct, willfully, into the shadow of its triumphant successor. It is a labyrinthine move, but one that I believe explains why the temple’s façade echoes Maderno’s S. Peter’s.

To expect archaeological accuracy would simply be to misunderstand Lauro’s undertaking. Although he undoubtedly knew of the columnar temple refined by Ligorio, Panvinio, and Dupérac, he still ignores it. A “correct” form would simply miss the point that Lauro incessantly makes; it would exhibit the very appearance of ungodliness. In this respect the sketchiness of Lauro’s renderings signals not ignorance, but the “instability” of pagan architecture itself; it is a deliberate carelessness aimed to reveal the pious engraver’s own intervention

and reworking of history. But above all, the artlessness retained a distance to archaeological facts, so ostentatiously visualized in the preceding century, because it was precisely in its “archaeological” form that Christian providence oversaw Rome’s destruction. The true mission of the Jupiter temple in the Baroque is to display its own defeat – to parade as booty in the Christian triumphal procession through time that was to end, not at the Capitol, but at the steps of the rebuilt S. Peter’s. As a topos in a contemporary rhetoric, the temple offered itself as a means for the Christian basilica to emerge victorious. Lauro simply transfers the encomium from text to engraving, continuing – in pictures – the casting of the temple in the role of systematically being surpassed. With impressive consistency, and backed up by Renaissance and Baroque rhetoric, he displays the visual and textual level on which his architectural conversion takes place. A triumphant S. Peter’s prefigured in the ancient city was naturally included in a genealogy of “wonders,” but the providential message was that Rome was where Peter would found the true church. Clearly, S. Peter’s not merely succeeded the Jupiter temple, but did so at its expense, just as Lauro’s reconstruction at scrutiny refashions the temple in the image of its conqueror.

The shortcomings of the term “reconstruction” have been revealed in full in this chapter. A reconstruction, for it to have any meaning, mutates from an actual and previous structure, whereas Lauro’s work repeatedly short-circuits any visual reference to historical models. In addition, a reconstruction is an edifice that occupies a specific place in a chronology that extends from one authentic model to a later copy in which the *re*-construction obviously looks back on an original. Lauro turns that chronology around: In his imaginative interpretations, he effectively makes temples of Venus, Saturn, and Jupiter appear to prefigure models that they in reality imitate. This is a complex form of representation that also characterizes Franzini’s woodcuts, and the question remains whether such an idea had already been formulated in the period.

Per definition, reconstructions belong to a category that seems to contradict Sixtus V’s whole program, because they neither demolish nor reappropriate, but actually resurrect the splendor of ancient Rome. In fact, and to my knowledge, the term “reconstruction” was never used at the time. Yet, as I mentioned in the introduction, a definition of our material existed, and interestingly, Sixtus is the one who formulates it. In the 1587 privilege to Franzini, the pope commends the depictions of ancient structures, such as arches, theaters, columns, statues, and other edifices, and he goes on to characterize their nature as partly collapsed and partly deteriorated. With a marked antiquarian panache he praises the particular form into which Franzini has restored them, at which point Sixtus intriguingly launches the definition “antiqui prothotypi.” The term “prototype” is somewhat the opposite of “reconstruction.” It credits the original building, but only to a degree – as a kind of presentiment

seen from a later standpoint. Thus, a “prototype” diminishes the importance of the original in the knowledge that the true manifestation is yet to come. Restored prototypes, which were how Sixtus perceived Franzini’s illustrations, would mean a readjustment of architectural history to an idea of a triumphant Christianity, such as the exemplarily prophetic Jupiter temple. The conversion of the past affects even the terminology; also by name antiquity is reduced to a sketch, a test case, in the providential plan.

Franzini himself wholeheartedly agreed with the pope’s missionary approach to antiquity. In the poem he wrote, which I referred to at the beginning of this chapter, he unabashedly celebrates Sixtus’s re-consecration of ancient monuments: “the obelisks, the spires and the pyramids which by the ancients were consecrated to the Sun, the new pastor has now dedicated to God,” the first lines read. Franzini evidently applauds antiquities in their Christianized form, even though he himself “reconstructs” them as ancient. The tension or even the latent rupture that surfaces suggests a far more active and complicated exchange between past and present, which the term “prototype” manages to embrace better than the strictly one-way process of restitution implied by the term “reconstruction.”

Although none of the privileges Lauro received employed the term “prototype,” the term covers a fundamental aspect of the period’s reconstitution of antiques, from Franzini to Kircher. For example, it explains how ancient temples efficiently could be made to serve the Catholic Reformation, how reconstruction formed part of the theory of history propagated by Sixtus and Baronio, preempting the need for later conversion. A “prototypon” projected onto the past coincides, on a fundamental level, with the meaning of prefiguration. Although Lauro’s principal intention is to resurrect the buildings of Rome “nel antico splendore” (expressed in his preface to the reader), such resurrections are also signs pointing not to the ancient city, but to the Christian one, meriting a function as architectural prophecies.